1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

or his shadow, depart into the underground world of the shadows, — ancient people, people of former times (Peni'nelau). The entrance into this country is guarded by dogs. If a person beat his dogs during his life, he will not be admitted. These dog-guardians may be bribed, however. For this purpose, fish-fins are put into the mittens of the deceased, that they may give them to the dogs that guard the entrance of the world of the shades. The Peni'nelau live in the underground world in villages, just as human beings live on earth; and relatives live together in the same house. Every new-comer joins his own relatives. The inhabitants of the underground world take care of their relatives on earth by sending them animals, which they kill, and other kinds of food-supply; but they also punish them if they are displeased with them for one reason or another. Presents for dead relatives are put on the pyre when the body of a deceased person is burned. In Tale 43 it is stated that the deceased sent a kala to kill the inhabitants of a village because the young people used to play at night, and disturbed the old people.

As may be seen from many tales, the road leading from earth to the underground world seems to close soon after the passing of the dead. The deceased pass underground through the pyre, and the road closes behind them. In Tale 112 Big-Raven's (Quikinn-a'qu) daughter purposely permitted herself to be eaten by a cannibal in order to reach the country of the shades, and to bring back, before the road closed again, all the people that had been eaten by the cannibal.

The shadow of the dead, though not visible to all, is conceived of as an absolutely material double of the dead person. It is distinct from the body, of which only the bones are left if the person was eaten by the cannibal kala, or the ashes if the body was burned on the funeral pyre. In former times, communication between our world and the world of the dead was more frequent and less difficult than it is now. Men used to go down on purpose, or strayed there by accident, entering through a crevice in the ground, and came back again. At present, only shamans descend into the underground world.

In olden times, children killed their aged parents. This custom, which still prevails among the Chukchee, is now completely abandoned. In some places, even the recollection of this custom has disappeared. The Maritime Koryak, for instance, deny ever having done so. They insist that this custom prevailed only among the Reindeer Koryak.

The relatives take good care of a dying man. If he is able to eat, he is given the choicest pieces. If the agony lasts long, he is turned on his left side, because they think that thus he will die sooner. If there is another patient in the same house with the dying man, the soul of the former is tied, to prevent its joining the departing soul. For this purpose, the patient's neck is fastened to the bands of the sleeping-tent by means of a string; and the string is charmed so that it may detain the soul.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

afterwards. I was told of two old men who also drank their own urine when intoxicated by brandy, and that the intoxication was thus kept up.

From three to ten dried fungi can be eaten without deadly effect. Some individuals are intoxicated after consuming three. Cases of death rarely occur. I was told of a case in which a Koryak swallowed ten mushrooms without feeling their effect. When he swallowed one more, vomiting set in, and he died. In the opinion of the Koryak, the spirits of the fly-agaric had choked him.[1] They related that these spirits had come out with the matter vomited, in the shape of worms, and that they vanished underground.

The Koryak were made acquainted with brandy by the Russians and by American whalers. Despite the prohibition issued by the Russian Government against the importation of brandy, it often finds its way in winter into the Koryak villages and camps, being taken there on trading-trips by Russian merchants. Whalers take it to the coast settlements in summer. Like all other primitive tribes, the Koryak are passionate consumers of brandy, and dealers often obtain an arctic or red fox in exchange for one wineglassful of brandy. To my question as to which they preferred, brandy or fly-agaric, many Koryak answered, "Fly-agaric." Intoxication from the latter is considered more pleasurable, and the reaction is less painful, than that following brandy. Like fly-agaric, brandy is drunk chiefly by elderly men. Old people do not give it to the young, that they themselves may not be deprived of the pleasure; and if young people or women happen to obtain brandy, they frequently give it up to the older members of the family. Two herd-owners whom I met on the Palpal were entirely unacquainted with this drink. Some Koryak in the coast villages have learned from the Russian Cossacks how to make brandy of bleaberries. They subject the berries to fermentation, and by means of a pipe distil the liquid from one iron kettle into another, the latter serving as a refrigerator. The result is a rather strong liquor of such disgusting taste and odor that the mere attempt to taste it nauseated me. Krasheninnikoff[2] says that the Cossacks in Kamchatka and, following their example, the Kamchadal, distilled brandy from "sweet grass" (*Heracleum sphandilium*).

MEALS. — The Koryak are rather moderate in their use of food. Such gluttons as are seen among the Yakut are rarely found among them. They eat twice a day — in the morning, soon after rising; and at night, before going to bed. If the food-supply is abundant, they take a light third meal in the middle of the day. The Reindeer Koryak usually eat reindeer-meat both morning and evening; while the Maritime Koryak generally eat sun-dried fish in the morning, and seal-meat, if there be any on hand, in the evening. In general, the principal meal is taken in the evening. The habit of eating heartily before bedtime is widespread throughout northern Siberia.

[1] On the religious attitude towards fly-agaric, see Part I, p. 120.

[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 206.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

861 to be photographed by my wife without the upper coat, but immediately refused the presents when her aunt shouted to her, "Don't take your coat off, your uncles will be angry." The girl was an orphan, and lived with her father's brothers.

868 From the age of ten to twelve, children begin to work, and boys join their father in his daily pursuits. They assist him in fishing, carrying wood for the hearth, and, among the Reindeer Koryak, tending the herd. Boys in their teens are made to go through a rigorous training to accustom them to withstand privations, cold, and fatigue. Lads usually wear the clothing cast off by the old people. Girls, beginning at the same age, help in household duties, skin-dressing, and the sewing of clothing.

593 When grown up, the attachment of children to their parents becomes weaker, and they become more independent, particularly so in the case of sons. Girls are more subjected than boys to the regime of the older members of the family. Young men at times engage in disputes with their fathers.

888 Treatment of Old People. — The power of the old people rests to a considerable degree on their strength and energy. If an old man can no longer perform the duties of a herdsman or direct the hunt, he ceases to be an authority. In the majority of cases, children treat their elders with respect and listen to their advice, even when they no longer manage the household. Thus I have seen an old man of from seventy to eighty years, who could no longer hold the reins in his hands, and was carried in a special sledge driven by his nephew. The latter would take him off and put him on the sledge, would tuck him up warmly, etc. In another case I saw the cruel treatment of an old father by his son, a wealthy reindeer-breeder. The father had had a small herd, and the son married a rich girl, who brought in a large herd. The two lived together. Once they were with the herd near the village Itkana, and the old man began to press his suit for the hand of a girl of the Maritime Koryak, who consented to marry him. The son objected to his father's marrying a Maritime woman; and when the father would not listen to his son, the latter separated from him.

582 In passing, I should like to mention here that marriages between the
356 Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are very rare.[1] This is a consequence of the
562 different forms of housekeeping carried on by the two groups of the Koryak. A daughter-in-law from a Maritime village will be a poor housekeeper in a Reindeer camp, and a son-in-law from the coast will be a poor herdsman. However, the pastoral life of the reindeer-breeders has not led to any changes concerning the customs relating to the bridegroom's service, marriage, levirate, etc.; but the new form of household economy has developed the principle of personal property more sharply, and has made woman more subject to man.

[1] Excepting the Reindeer Koryak who constitute one group with the inhabitants of the villages about Bering Sea (see p. 434).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

This latter circumstance is explained by the influence of the severe life which the herdsman leads. While the Maritime Koryak does almost nothing during the winter, living as he does in a comparatively warm house, the Reindeer Koryak must undergo all the hardships of winter while tending the herd.

But to return to the old man of whom I spoke before. Having entered into relationship with the Maritime Koryak, he remained near the coast, wandering about near their village. One year happened to be a poor one; no sea-animals were caught, the Maritime Koryak were starving during the winter, and the Reindeer Koryak killed his reindeer for food for the coast people. When all his reindeer were gone, he left his wife and returned to the Reindeer Koryak; but his son would not have him, advising him to go and live with the Maritime Koryak. The old man was finally taken in by a very poor kinsman, where I saw him in a pitiful condition. He was assisting the women in drying fish in the sun, and was dressed in tatters.

THE KILLING OF OLD PEOPLE. — The custom of having the nearest of kin kill an old person at the latter's desire, which is still extant among the Chukchee,[1] is no longer met with among the Koryak; but in some localities the memory of this custom has been preserved. In the district-commander's report for 1886[2] to the Governor of the Maritime Province, mention is still made of such murders, though it does not clearly appear whether Chukchee or Koryak are referred to. For details of this custom I refer to Bogoras.[1] Generally speaking, however, the motives of the old people in desiring to be killed were decline of strength, disease, or simply dissatisfaction with life. The executors of the old people's desire were their sons or other nearest of kin. The killing was done either by strangling with a thong or by stabbing the heart with a spear.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP. — From the list of terms of relationship given below, it appears that the system corresponds to the regulation of marriages, described before.

CONSANGUINITY.

Ačiˈčɛ (Paren), aˈpa (Kamenskoye), apaˈpel (Reindeer Koryak)	Grandfather and great-uncle, paternal and maternal.
Yiˈɲy-ačiˈčɛ, yiˈɲi-apa ("linked grandfather")	Great-grandfather.
Aˈma, aˈnˈa	Grandmother and great-aunt, paternal and maternal.
Yiˈɲi-aˈnˈa ("linked grandmother")	Great-grandmother.
ɛnniˈw (Chukchee, Endiˈw)	Uncle, paternal and maternal.
nčeiˈ	Aunt, paternal and maternal.
Aˈpa (Paren), taˈta (Kamenskoye), Eˈnpɛč (Reindeer Koryak)[3]	Father.

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 38. [2] Gishiga Archive Records, File No. 404, 1886.

[3] Eˈnpɛč is used also at Kamenskoye. Literally it means "eldest." Eˈnpčō (plural) denotes "fathers" and "old men."

11: Kennan--213-215 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak-1-2
116, 182, 758, 761, 888 Reindeer

"The bodies of the dead, among all the wandering tribes, are burned, together with all their effects, in the hope of a final resurrection of both spirit and matter; and the sick, as soon as their recovery becomes hopeless, are either stoned to death or speared. [214] We found it to be true, as we had been told by the Russians and the Kamtchadals, that the Koraks murdered all their old people as soon as sickness or the infirmities of age unfitted them for the hardships of a nomadic life. Long experience has given them a terrible familiarity with the best and quickest methods of taking life; and they often explained to us with the most sickening minuteness, as we sat at night in their smoky pologs, the different ways in which a man could be killed, and pointed out the vital parts of the body where a spear or knife thrust would prove most instantly fatal. I thought of De Quincey's celebrated Essay upon 'Murder Considered as one of the Fine Arts,' and of the field which a Korak encampment would afford to his 'Society of Connoisseurs in Murder.' All Koraks are taught to look upon such a death as the natural end of their existence, and they meet it generally with perfect composure. Instances are rare where a man desires to outlive the period of his physical activity and usefulness. They are put to death in the presence of the whole band, with elaborate but unintelligible ceremonies; their bodies are then burned, and the ashes suffered to be scattered and blown away by the wind.

These customs of murdering the old and sick, and burning the bodies of the dead, grow naturally out of the wandering life which the Koraks have adopted, and are only

illustrations of the powerful influence which physical laws exert everywhere upon the actions and moral feelings of men. They both follow logically and almost inevitably from the very nature of the country and cli-[215]mate. The barrenness of the soil in Northeastern Siberia, and the severity of the long winter, led man to domesticate the reindeer as the only means of obtaining a subsistence; the domestication of the reindeer necessitated a wandering life; a wandering life made sickness and infirmity unusually burdensome to both sufferers and supporters; and this finally led to the murder of the old and sick, as a measure both of policy and mercy. The same causes gave rise to the custom of burning the dead. Their nomadic life made it impossible for them to have any one place of common sepulture, and only with the greatest difficulty could they dig graves at all in the perpetually frozen ground. Bodies could not be left to be torn by wolves, and burning them was the only practicable alternative. Neither of these customs presupposes any original and innate savageness or barbarity on the part of the Koraks themselves. They are the natural development of certain circumstances, and only prove that the strongest emotions of human nature, such as filial reverence, fraternal affection, selfish love of life, and respect for the remains of friends, all are powerless to oppose the operation of great natural laws."